

Georgia State University
ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University

Geosciences Theses

Department of Geosciences

5-3-2017

An Analysis of the Community Land Trust Model

Tara A. Franklin-Mitchell

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/geosciences_theses

Recommended Citation

Franklin-Mitchell, Tara A., "An Analysis of the Community Land Trust Model." Thesis, Georgia State University, 2017.
http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/geosciences_theses/105

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Geosciences at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Geosciences Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gsu.edu.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST MODEL

By

TARA A. FRANKLIN-MITCHELL

Under the Direction of Katherine Hankins

ABSTRACT

Lefebvre's 'right to the city' concept involves collective ownership of the means of production, rights to information, right to difference, right to self-management, and what he refers to as 'autogestion.' Lefebvre's ideas have captured the imagination of many grassroots and transnational organizations, such as the Right to the City Alliance and have been applied to various issues in the city dealing with human rights, including access to affordable housing, use of public space, and threats of displacement from gentrification. Within and across these organizations, it becomes critical to examine the contours of 'the right to the city' and what rights Lefebvre and activists who use this framework mean as they pursue their social justice agendas. In this study, I examine the community land trust model in the context of the 'right to the city' framework that Lefebvre (1996) developed and as interpreted by Purcell (2014). My analysis reveals that the *grassroots* CLT model more closely embodies the ideals of Lefebvre's 'right to the city' through collective governance *and* the appropriation of urban space in contrast to other traditional CLT models that focus more narrowly on affordable housing. This study suggests the importance of the community's voice in realizing the right to the city.

INDEX WORDS: Lefebvre, Westside Atlanta, Affordable housing, Community Land Trust, Social justice, Urban geography, Right to the city

AN ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST MODEL

By

TARA A. FRANKLIN-MITCHELL

A thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

In the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2017

Copyright by

Tara Anne Franklin-Mitchell

2017

AN ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST MODEL

By

TARA A. FRANKLIN-MITCHELL

Committee Chair: Katherine Hankins

Committee: Deirdre Oakley

Richard Milligan

Andy Walter

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

Office of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

May 2017

DEDICATION

To my mother, Andrea LeMon-Franklin, and my ancestors for making this opportunity possible. Your work here on earth was not in vein.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to give honor to the Creator for direction to this point in my life. Without it, this would not have been possible. Thank you to my husband, Brian Mitchell, for the sacrifices you have made to ensure that I could follow my dreams and for your support through all of the growing pains. I could not have accomplished all that I have without you by my side. Thank you for being a great father to our son, being my cheerleader, and providing for our family selflessly during this time. I love you. Also to my amazing son Brian Tyler, who may have slowed this process a bit, but gave me the strength and encouragement to achieve this milestone with your sweet smile and warm hugs when I was not at my best. You are the embodiment of my joy. Nothing makes me happier than when you say you're proud of me. I love you and thank you for doing homework with me.

Many thanks to the gem of the Geosciences department and my advisor, Dr. Katherine Hankins. It was a privilege to work with you, travel with you, and most importantly learn from you. I know that there is so much more that I can learn from you and I hope this is just the beginning of us working together academically and in the community. Thank you for the tough decisions you allowed me to make, the patience you've shown as I would wander off track and the guidance you gave to get me back on track. I am honored to be one of your many success stories.

Thank you, Dr. Deirdre Oakley, for igniting in me a passion for social justice and encouraging me to further my education. You were one of the first professors to push me to pursue more than what I thought I was capable of and for that I can never thank you

enough. Also, many thanks to Drs. Richard Milligan and Andy Walter for your contributions and insights.

Although no longer with the GSU family, it would be remiss of me to not include Dr. Timothy Hawthorne who somehow convinced a Sociology loyalist that there was a place for her in the Geosciences department. For that and the many adventures we have had over the past two years, thank you and I wish you all the success in the world.

Thank you to my friends and family who have watched and cared for me through this journey. Who provided emotional support, childcare, and bottles of wine to the cause. I love you and would have struggled without you.

Thank you to the community organizations that agreed to participate in this study. To my now family at HELP.ORG and the WALT program, you are an inspiration in the fight for better days. Thank you to Pamela Flores for allowing me to shadow you and witness the amazing things you do in the community. You are indescribable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	4
2.1 Lefebvre’s Right to the City.....	4
2.1.1 Production of Space	4
2.1.2 Right to the City	7
2.2 Displacement	10
2.3 Community Land Trusts	13
2.3.1 Burlington Community Land Trust/ Champlain Housing Trust .	16
2.3.2 Madison Area Community Land Trust.....	19
2.3.3 International Use of the CLT Model.....	20
3 METHODOLOGY.....	23
3.1 Case Study.....	23
3.1.1 Boston, MA: Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative/Dudley Neighbors Incorporated	23
3.1.2 Athens, GA: Athens Land Trust.....	26
3.1.3 Atlanta, GA: Westside Atlanta Land Trust.....	29
3.2 Data	34
3.2.1 Archives	35
3.2.2 Observations	35
3.2.3 Interviews	36
3.3 Research Question	37

4	FINDINGS	38
4.1	In What Ways Does Context Matter?	38
4.1.1	Boston	39
4.1.2	Athens	40
4.1.3	Atlanta.....	41
4.2	Can Residents be/remain in the City?	43
4.2.1	Boston	43
4.2.2	Athens.....	47
4.2.3	Atlanta	50
4.3	Collective Governance	53
4.3.1	Boston	54
4.3.2	Athens.....	55
4.3.3	Atlanta	56
4.4	Additional Themes	58
5	CONCLUSION	62
	REFERENCE	66

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Demographics comparison of Boston and DSNI service area	25
Table 2: Demographic Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units for Athens-Clarke County	28
Table 3: Demographic Characteristics for WALT target area	30
Table 4: Income comparison in the past 12 months (In 2015 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) 2011-2015	33

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: CLTs located in the United States	14
Figure 2: Board member seats of DSNI	24
Figure 3: Map of DNI target area and secondary area	26
Figure 4: Map of Athens-Clarke County.....	27
Figure 5: WALT target neighborhood, NPU-L.....	31

1 INTRODUCTION

My experience was no different than my father's growing up in the projects of Roxbury, Massachusetts, nor my grandparents being raised in the low-income neighborhoods of Dorchester and Roxbury. I grew up in low-income housing east of Atlanta in Decatur, Georgia. I understand the camaraderie within low-income neighborhoods because my neighbors would babysit me, birthdays were block parties, and our neighborhood fostered a sense of belonging. I also understand the violence, death, and addiction associated with my childhood home through personal experience and the label placed on my community by outsiders.

Today I am a proud resident of West Atlanta where there still exists a strong sense of community reminiscent of my childhood. There are cultural nuances and an identity built on the memory of the Civil Rights Movement and Black excellence from the historic African American institutions within the neighborhood. In addition, the community also has been associated with high crime rates, drugs, and poverty, evident in many of Atlanta's predominately African American neighborhoods. Through all socio-economic challenges, community members remain resilient and active in supporting one another. Elders within the community give hope to the younger generation that the neighborhood can return to its days of manicured lawns and holiday socials. The young and new residents respect the history and the convenience of living within the city limits, close to transit and entertainment. There is no doubt that West Atlanta is a great place to live and many people outside of the community are beginning to notice.

Like many low-income residents around Atlanta, the changing landscape of the city threatens my neighbors' ability to remain in the neighborhood that they have called

home for generations. Affordable housing has already become a scarce commodity and as development moves toward the west from downtown, we can foresee a drastic shift in the accessibility of affordable housing within our neighborhoods.

I became a member of the Westside Atlanta Land Trust (WALT) because the community land trust model was presented to me as a viable solution to offer permanently affordable housing for residents in these historic neighborhoods. As an undergraduate studying urban sociology, I was drawn to the plight of accessible, affordable housing domestically and internationally. Permanently affordable, stable housing is the solution for many low-income neighborhood stressors including poor health, inadequate education, and limited access to opportunity and job growth (Desmond & Kimbro, 2015; Keene & Geronimus, 2011; Libman, Fields, & Saegert, 2012). This is what drew me to the community land trust model as a solution to the affordable housing crisis. Land trusts allow for families to remain in their beloved neighborhoods, participate in home ownership, gain equity (unlike traditional renting), and they provide families with some control over the changing housing market.

One goal of this thesis is to examine the effectiveness of the community land trust model to provide permanently affordable housing in areas facing intense redevelopment pressures. Community land trusts (CLTs) have been established domestically and internationally to 1) preserve affordable housing stock in a speculative market, 2) spur redevelopment in blighted areas, and 3) create a space for community engagement and decision-making in partnership with neighborhood stakeholders. In this study, I explore how these elements are implemented in three geographically different areas and analyze how closely the CLTs not only provide housing but how well they align with Lefebvre's

‘right to the city’ concept. Ultimately, this research seeks to understand the ability of the CLT model to provide a ‘right to the city’ for residents in these changing neighborhoods. By analyzing the implementation and sustainability of the CLT model in other cities, additional knowledge and processes can be applied to the WALT model to ensure it offers the most socially just form of housing opportunity for residents of the west side of Atlanta. In what follows in Chapter 2, I situate this research in the context of the literature on ‘the right to the city,’ paying careful attention to the processes of displacement that residents of the west side of Atlanta face. In addition, I elaborate on the community land trust model, highlighting features of community land trusts—and specific land trust models—that have been examined in various popular and academic literatures. In Chapter 3, I present the details of the three community land trust organizations that I examine in this research: 1) Dudley Street Initiative in Boston, Massachusetts, 2) the Athens Community Land Trust in Athens, Georgia, and 3) the Westside Atlanta Land Trust, a program of the nonprofit HELP.ORG, in Atlanta, Georgia. Furthermore, I explain the methods and the analytical strategy I employ in this research. In Chapter 4, I present my findings, wherein I analyze two key dimensions of the right to the city: the ability of residents to *be* in the city (or to ‘appropriate’ the city, as Lefebvre would put it) and the ability of residents to engage in self-governance (or to *participate* in the present and future of the city). In addition, to ground this analysis, I highlight the place context in which these different land trust models came into being.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Lefebvre's Right to the City

Lefebvre's right to the city concept has been used by social justice advocates to bring the issues of the marginalized to the forefront (Purcell, 2002). With the concept framing human rights issues, from access to clean water to the ability to be housed, the concept must be fully unpacked and understood in order to appreciate its significance in animating social justice claims and to understand what those claims might look like in practical, on-the-ground terms. Before turning to a more detailed discussion of how scholars have understood 'the right to the city,' it is important to appreciate how French theorist Henri Lefebvre understood urban space in the first place.

2.1.1 Production of Space

The right to the city was birthed from Henri Lefebvre's ontology of the *Production of Space*. Lefebvre's interpretation of space is alive, fluid, and interacts with just as much as it is the stage for life (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is mental, physical, and social in nature and is represented in a society's spatial practices. The production of space entails the processes whereby individuals and groups, the state and capital, create and give meaning to physical, material spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre's conceptualization also involves the ways in which we mentally create space as we move about our day, shaping ideas that can physically be birthed into the urban landscape. As we create physical space, with boundaries and borders, space develops a social aspect involving who has access or right to the space through ownership or membership.

Lefebvre's work was popularized in Western academia by David Harvey (1973) and Edward W. Soja (1980), as they used production of space as a foundation of key

arguments in geography (and planning, in Soja's case). Harvey's work (e.g., 1973) essentially describes how the built environment within cities is produced to accumulate and absorb capital, framing space as a platform for capital accumulation and a means to structure or control society's wants and spending. Soja (1980) introduced his concept of the socio-spatial dialect, which focuses on the social production of space and the class consciousness and class struggle within capitalistic society as well as how spatial relations play a fundamental role in the interrelationship of land and capital and the production of class under contemporary capitalism (Soja, 1980). That is, he argues that society produces certain kinds of spaces, which in turn enable particular social formations. By understanding the spaces that are "for" and "not for" you, the concept of space becomes a platform for class struggle within a capitalistic society and how class consciousness is a key factor in how space is created and interpreted in society. Both Harvey and Soja set the foundation of geographic interpretations of Lefebvre's work within the literature of Western academia, creating a foundation for academics to explore how space can be controlled and manipulated within a capitalist system.

More academics became inspired by the work of Lefebvre through the work of Harvey and Soja, expanding on the idea of the "urban" and *Production of Space* within the Western context. Dikec (2001) built upon Soja's writings and emphasized spatial dialectics of injustice, noting that it is not only property owners that should have control over the policies and spatial rights of the city, but that power should lie with all residents within the city limits. Dikec (2001) uses Lefebvre's idea of the "right to urban life" as the base of the argument that residents have in enabling the right to participate in a city's development and political realms, being able to speak out against injustice. Dikec

identifies that social justice and spatial injustice are interrelated, in which the spatiality of injustice, an injustice of dimensions in space, and the injustice of spatiality, a reproduction of injustice through space are mutually constituted. This means that as space is being created, within an individualistic perspective, it caters to that of the power of the creator, often repressing marginalized members of society. Dikec states that institutions, networks, and the distribution of the built environment are forms of domination that manifest as spatial injustices. He forms a theory of a triad, involving the spatial dialectics of injustice, the right to differences, and the right to the city. For him, these elements form a way to set parameters to know when to assess injustices and to resist these injustices.

Dikec's work helps us put 'the right to the city' into the perspective of the frustrated voices of the residents living on the west side of Atlanta. Residents recognize the threat of displacement from the spaces they have created or inhabited and how they may not have the ability to remain in the neighborhoods where many have lived for generations. As community members fight for access to better resources and investment in their neighborhoods, they understand that the new forms of development prioritize the needs of the wealthy and continue to marginalize them within their own neighborhoods. Fighting for the right to the city, in a sense, is a fight for them to remain in their neighborhoods and to be recognized: to be a part of the changing neighborhoods'—and indeed the city's—dynamics and decisions.

2.1.2 Right to the City

Right to the city is a theory of social inclusion for all denizens that reside within the city. Marcuse (2009) interprets Lefebvre's right to the city as "a cry and demand" out of necessity for those who are excluded and alienated from the urban space they inhabit. Lefebvre's right to the city concept involves collective ownership of the means of production, rights to information, right to difference, right to self-management, and also what he refers to as 'autogestion.' The right to 'autogestion' entails the ability to self-manage and collectively make decisions rather than relinquishing decision-making to the few (Purcell, 2014). This takes an awakening of the majority to realize their power and ability to manage themselves, taking on a true grassroots method of de-alienating urban space into controlled zones and sectors by the few and returning the power and control over the production of space to the many who inhabit the space (Lefebvre, 2003; Purcell, 2014).

Collective ownership is an intricate part of the right to the city discussion. Karl Marx (1994) discusses the role of the bourgeoisie, or the mid to upper-class, in production and how the relinquishing of the means of production to the worker allows for the common person to be the creator and driving force behind their work/craft, which Lefebvre advocated. Within the capital system, those with financial means and power control the means of production, material and imaginary. Means of production for Lefebvre represented the ability of the individual to freely create her own path in all facets of life (Purcell, 2014). This implies the move from individual to collective ownership and contributing to the needs and wants of society rather than the few in economic and social power.

Lefebvre discussed right to information and the right to difference in his writings about the urban. Essentially, these rights are conceptualized as the exchange of knowledge and social connections, creating space within society where ideas can flow freely, creating and re-imagining the urban within a fluid space rather than restricting the concept of urban to the confines of the built environment (Lefebvre, 1996). The right to difference specifically addresses how society is enhanced by the sharing of knowledge by people who have different lived experiences. Both the right to information and the right to difference are important aspects of the right to the city concept given that they call for equality and the equal sharing of knowledge and voice in all matters of society.

Lefebvre's right to the city concept has been applied to multiple facets of human rights issues, from education to economics, access to food to fair housing (Aubry & Dorsi, 2016; Devinatz, 2015; Devine, 2016; Newman & Wyly, 2006), but how are rights defined in this context? Marcuse (2009) aims to identify the different agents in who has the right to the city. He concludes that the excluded, small business, the working class, gentry, establishment intelligentsia, the politically powerful, and the capitalists all have rights to the city and all should therefore have the material and legal rights to inform how the city should be reproduced. He goes on to break these groups along gender, cultural, and ethnic lines because the demand for rights to the city comes from groups that are consistently marginalized. Marcuse defines the moral and legal rights the marginalized groups have and identifies the steps necessary for marginalized groups to realize their rights. He suggests that exposing the commonalities of injustice and deprivation among the marginalized could spark a right to the city movement, which would involve redirecting the ways in which the city is produced and reproduced.

As cities and urban areas continue to change to meet the demands of those in power, their spatial arrangements are created and recreated. This not only refers to the change of the built environment but also the perception of the spaces to be reproduced, or designed for a new type of consumption. To “conquer” space, one must use new terms and technologies to create a narrative around spatial reproduction as Pugalís & Giddings (2011) remind us. This includes labeling spaces as ‘slums’ and ‘ghettos’ to promote the narrative of ‘mixed-income’ and ‘reclaimed areas’. Pugalís et al. (2011) frames the right to the city as an “active process of continual struggle, negotiation, and contestation,” identifying the right to access the city, the right to ‘be’ in the city, and the right to participate in the city as key components of the concept. The ability to access the city pertains to the social acceptance of an individual or groups’ presence in the spaces of the city. The right to ‘be’ in the city means the ability to remain in the city, dwell, and occupy space within the city. The right to participate in the city is important to this study, as it involves the re-visioning, decision-making, and the reproduction of space. The ability to participate will be discussed further in Chapter 4 with the struggles of the WALT program.

Pugalís and Giddens’s 2011 study highlights the social and class elements involved in the reproduction of urban space. They found that the redevelopment of urban space catered to a “deserving” group of citizens, which was reflected in the design, architecture, and preservation of the reimagined city. Space, in this instance, is used as a political tool to create the notion of “other” and is materialized through spatial formations in the built environment.

In applying the right to the city framework in this study, I will explore how three organizations' actions reflect the enactment of various rights as well as the degree to which WALT has captured 'the right to the city' framework in its mission and work thus far. Though we have come to understand that Lefebvre's true intention for the right to the city concept is radical in nature, there are some of his initial elements that may be embodied in the organizations' mission and goals. Understanding that the capitalist system is the dominant social organization of our times, individuals and organizations are still able to advocate and pressure the system for more equal and fairer treatment of marginalized urban residents, utilizing the right to the city framework. I highlight the ability of residents *to be* in the city, to appropriate space, in addition to their ability to engage in democratic practice to determine their fate. I provide evidence of how community land trust organizations understand and apply the right to the city concept to their work. By using Purcell's (2014) interpretation of Lefebvre's framework I analyze interviews with members of the three CLT organizations to explore how these organizations envision and enact a 'right to the city' as a means of mitigating displacement of native residents.

2.2 Displacement

The displacement of urban residents is one of the major concerns of many of the right to the city organizations. Grier and Grier (1978, p. 41) define displacement as:

"... when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; Occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and

make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable”.

Harvey (2008) calls the process of displacement ‘accumulation by dispossession,’ where redevelopment captures valuable land from low-income residents who may have resided there for years. The shuffling of low-income residents through various housing programs, such as housing vouchers and the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) rental developments, has shown no evidence of addressing and creating a permanent solution for poor housing conditions and preventing the displacement of marginalized residents. Indeed, the state, is often driven by capital accumulation, and will thus manage land and housing in the interest of capital not in the interest of the poor (Englesman, Rowe, & Southern, 2016).

Displacement is a theme within the gentrification discourse as academics, city planners, local government, and residents try to identify the reason and cost of neighborhood change. The neo-libertarian view of the gentrification discourse finds that gentrification of poor neighborhoods does not cause social conflict but produces different races and ethnic groups living together, helping each other uplift the community from urban poverty (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Unfortunately, by making the housing market palatable to the gentrifier it in turn excludes the potential displacee from his home (Redfern, 2003). This creates what Marcuse (1985) called 'exclusionary displacement' because a gentrifier's ability to use capital to improve the neighborhood can also alienate the residents within the neighborhood who lack the capital to make the same improvements to their home and to their community. The few residents who are able to stay suffer from the loss of social networks (Marcuse, 1985). Residents can be

displaced from desirable inner-city neighborhoods through increased rents or taxes, housing demolition, and conversion of rental units to condominiums (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Displacement can possibly reduce the quality of life of those displaced and force them to find residences in less desirable areas while taking away their right to place (LeGates & Hartman, 1982; Newman & Wyly, 2006).

Both grassroots and city-led organizations have emerged to mitigate the effects (or fact of) displacement. DeVerteuil (2012) examined displacement through the lens of non-profit organizations and the residents at risk they serve. What he found was that there were passive and active means of resistance from both residents and the organizations to prevent displacement. Organizations rallied and educated the community to have a united front against any policies and developments and worked with local government to create terms that assisted the population. Overall, non-profits providing social services were a means of community mobilization and solidarity, creating a barrier to displacement as seen, for example, in San Francisco's Tenderloin district and in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DeVerteuil, 2012).

Some residents resist displacement for a variety of reasons. To prevent involuntary movement, residents sometimes choose to live in overcrowded conditions and endure high costs for poor quality housing. DeVerteuil (2012) discussed the disadvantages of "staying put" which is concentrating those in need within a geographic footprint, essentially immobilizing them and locking the residents in while simultaneously locking newcomers out. This can be seen as concentrating working class residents within a specific geography, but it does not physically stop new residents from moving into the neighborhood.

Deverteuil (2012) also identified owner-occupation as being an active deterrent to gentrification and displacement, the tactic that the community land trust model is recognized for. In my review of the community land trust model in the following section, I explain why and how the disadvantages of “staying put” highlighted by Deverteuil (2012) are decreased within the community land trust model and could possibly provide residents the ability to stay in their communities through a range of housing choices.

2.3 Community Land Trusts

Established by a non-profit, 501(c)3 bearing organization, a community land trust (CLT) allows the organization to hold the deed to the land while selling the structure built upon the land at an affordable rate. The intent of most nonprofit CLTs is to hold the land in perpetuity for the residents of the land trust. The organization develops a ground lease agreement with the purchaser of the structure, which usually extends for 99 years. The property tax is paid by the organization from a specific reduced tax code implemented by the local government.

By separating the land cost, the structure becomes permanently affordable and protected from rising property taxes as the market area fluctuates. Buyers are able to purchase their home through a traditional mortgage and financial programs within Fannie Mae and FHA assist in the purchasing of CLT properties (Skobba & Carswell, 2014). The purchaser agrees to only receive a nominal percentage from the sale of the property to ensure that it remains affordable for the next owner. In the event that a CLT fails, provisions are built into the ground lease to insure the property owner and the lender are protected. In many agreements, homeowners are given the first right of refusal to purchase the land. If this does not occur, the CLT can transfer the land to

another entity or the city that has subsidized the land with the agreement that the property owner and lender rights are upheld within their original agreement.

In the 1960s, CLTs began to be used as they are today, providing permanently affordable housing to working class residents who were being priced out of the housing stock in cities nationwide (Moore & McKee, 2012). Robert Swann and Ralph Borsodi are credited with spearheading the land trust model and establishing the first community land trust outside of Leesburg, GA in 1968 (Soifer, 1990). The CLT was established by civil rights activists who were pursuing a solution to living conditions for African-Americans living in rural Georgia (Miller, 2015). According to the National Community Land Trust Network, there are currently 270 CLTs nationwide, shown in Figure 1 (“Program Directory,” 2017).

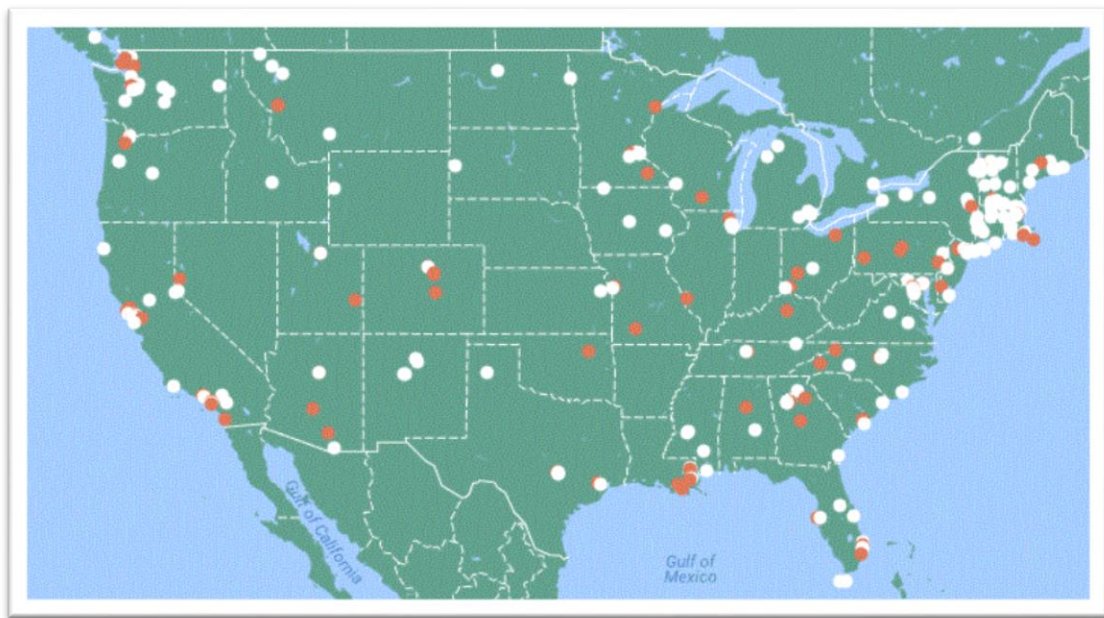


Figure 1: CLTs located in the United States

In many models, a CLT's board is made up of the CLT residents, community residents, and community stakeholders (local business owners, teachers, clergy, etc.) who play a key role in the community. Stakeholders within the community govern the trust democratically and the decisions on tenants/purchasers, use of land, and new development proposals are voted on by the group at monthly and quarterly meetings (Moore & McKee, 2012). This formula creates a medium in politicizing the community, allowing the residents to join together in one active voice, and manifests community empowerment through democratic participation (Davis, 2014; Englesman et al., 2016). With democratic participation comes the ability to increase effective measures of confronting issues with local and state government over neighborhood assets. Having a community voice opens doors for residents to define what is important to them and the needs they have as a community. Speaking as the community and for the community may open more doors to negotiations and community input on local development.

In addition to empowering the community through decision making and democratic processes, community land trusts can have a positive impact on communities by keeping subsidies inside the group through the land lease process and a property sale agreement. The first subsidy stays with the property through a land lease that usually spans 99 years that allows for the first owner to purchase a home at an affordable rate. By taxing CLTs at a reduced tax rate, owners are protected from property tax increase and have stability within their monthly mortgage payments. This subsidy is then passed on to the next owner as well as all subsequent holders after, creating a permanently affordable model (Campbell & Salus, 2003). As more land is taken off the market and placed in the trust, gentrification of low- and moderate-income

neighborhoods can be controlled (Moore & McKee, 2012). Additionally, CLTs put in place stipulations on the sales price of CLT properties to ensure that they are sold at affordable prices while allowing the sellers to create wealth through the sale of the property. An alternate positive impact is the adjustment of rents without the need to administer rent control, and utilizing prohibitive zoning is refined through the ground lease contract between the CLT and the property holder (Soifer, 1990). The CLT model can also return vacant and blighted properties to the city's assessment roll, increasing its annual revenue.

By analyzing case studies from cities around the world, an understanding of community land trusts and their effectiveness in managing affordable housing can be used to answer questions about the ability of CLTs to mitigate the displacement of the low-income residents and to preserve their right to the city. Drawing from the Burlington Community Land Trust, Madison Area Community Land Trust, and the use of the CLT model internationally in England, Scotland, and Kenya, I identify key themes of success as well as the challenges each one faces.

2.3.1 Burlington Community Land Trust/ Champlain Housing Trust

Senator Bernard Sanders was the mayor of Burlington, Vermont in 1981 and started the Burlington Community Land Trust (BCLT) and the Lake Champlain Housing Development Corporation in 1984 (Conaty & Lewis, 2014). The working rationale of the BCLT is that a sufficient amount of affordable housing ought to be accessible to Burlington residents at all times. For BCLT founders and members, lodging was seen as an essential right, not a benefit and was seen as a group asset instead of a wellspring of benefit for individual profit (Soifer, 1990). The land trust was funded by a \$200,000

grant from the city and became the first CLT to expand its landholdings through partnering with a municipality (Conaty & Lewis, 2014). In 1984, the BCLT purchased its first property and sold the home situated on the property to a single mother of two. She was able to purchase the home for \$12,500 less than market value because of the omission of the speculation market value on the land (Soifer, 1990). She also received assistance through the CLT to secure a reduced mortgage rate loan to purchase her home (Powell, 1985; Wilhelm, 1987). The Burlington Community Land Trust also purchased multi-family units to rent to qualified members of the CLT and eventually converted the units into housing co-ops where tenants would own a percentage of the property (Soifer, 1990). The BCLT was able to receive grants from local and federal entities that allowed them to continue building their housing base (Soifer, 1990).

With all of the success stories and accomplishments, the Burlington Community Land Trust did not operate without some challenges. BCLT homeowners could only make a limited profit from selling their home, which may or may not include the improvements that they made to the home that subsequently increased its value (Soifer, 1990). Also, to keep the home available in the affordable housing market, the BCLT board decided that the home had to be purchased by another person within the approved income level or sold back to the land trust (Powell, 1985). Within these circumstances, the owner may not find it profitable or beneficial to move due to the possible loss of equity. The Burlington Community Land Trust also faced challenges with their multi-family units.

“The most serious drawback of the BCLT, and perhaps the CLT model in general, is that it only helps a few moderate-income people purchase homes they

otherwise would be unable to afford because of tight housing market conditions. Eventually, the BCLT will encourage other moderate-income people to buy into limited equity co-ops. While this is important, the BCLT does little for low income people, other than providing them with a somewhat more beneficent landlord” (Soifer, 1990, p. 249).

The Burlington Community Land Trust model struggled in trying to reach the number of people it wanted to assist. Organizers found that some renters were uninterested in the housing co-op. Soifer (1990) believed that it was due to the lack of information on what a housing co-op entails, since it actually would benefit tenants financially if they decided to move. The land trust also received push back from surrounding homeowners who had a negative perception of “socialist” programs and believed that it would negatively affect the value of their property (Soifer, 1990).

In 2006 the BCLT and the Lake Champlain Housing Trust merged due to the overlap in geography and funding and together they constitute the Champlain Housing Trust that has a portfolio of over 2,000 permanently affordable properties (Conaty & Lewis, 2014). By studying the early establishment of the Burlington CLT, key elements that a CLT needs to thrive are residents who understand and willingly participate in the program as well as general knowledge of the CLT to surrounding neighbors. As of 2015, the organization had 565 owner-occupied homes and managed 2,200 apartments, and six cooperative housing communities (Co-ops), representing approximately 17% of the county’s housing units (Bureau, 2017b; “Get A Home at Champlain Housing Trust,” 2017).

2.3.2 Madison Area Community Land Trust

The Madison Area Community Land Trust (MACLT), located in Madison, Wisconsin, and the Urban Open Space Foundation (UOSF), a conservation land trust, decided to collaborate with community partners and universities to create a groundbreaking, community-based development attempt to conserve a sizeable tract of land from development, while also developing affordable housing on a small area of the land (Campbell & Salus, 2003). Once the Madison community was notified of plans to develop the large parcel of land that community residents used as open greenspace, the Northside Planning Council (NPC), and local citizens joined the MACLT, the Design Coalition, and other non-profit organizations to form the Troy Gardens Coalition (Campbell and Salus, 2003). The banning together of several organizations over the interest in preserving a tract of undeveloped land had never been done prior to this coalition. Conservation land trusts are treated with more reverence and approval than community land trusts, so they merging of the two trusts ensured funding and support from the community and eventually city officials (Campbell and Salus, 2003).

The Troy Gardens project merged local food production, land conservation, affordable housing, and community building within 31 acres of prime real estate and did so in a way that scholars viewed as fostering community, agency, and collaboration within their CLT model (Campbell and Salus, 2003). This makes Troy Gardens a seemingly functional and sustainable community project. There were a few obstacles that the coalition had to overcome to reach its successful stature. The large group struggled with the sluggish pace of completing tasks, getting approvals, and additional time-consuming responsibilities of solidifying ownership of the land (Campbell and

Salus, 2003). With the number of different interest groups involved in the project, tension was inevitable between organizations and yet they were able to persevere to accomplish their goal. Also, because of the dual partnership between the conservation land trust and the community land trust, the organization found some difficulty navigating the technology and assistance that are given to the separate land trust organizations (Campbell and Salus, 2003). As of 2017, MACLT holds 66 properties within the Madison area (“Madison Area Community Land Trust,” 2017).

2.3.3 International Use of the CLT Model

The CLT model has also been used outside of the United States to address housing and land use issues specific to different country contexts. Scholars found that the community land trusts in England are intended to strengthen the government’s push for self-government, independence, and sustainability at the local level (Moore & McKee, 2012). The overall goal is to encourage responsibility at the community level over the housing and land use within individual communities. The attainment of land and financial support of housing developments are not backed by government, but are financed through private loans and grants through the private business sector apart from social housing (Moore and McKee, 2012). The control of governing the CLTs is left up to the local communities. Some communities have decided to work underneath umbrella corporations, which supply technological support to the individual CLTs. Scholars’ findings have been inconclusive whether the CLT model is essentially becoming a mode of autonomy within the local communities as they were intended to be (Moore and McKee, 2012).

Community land trusts in Scotland are put in place to contest feudal land

ownership that hinders development of local businesses and the sale of idle and underdeveloped land (Satsangi, 2009). The prospect for revitalizing community land proprietorship in Scotland was authorized by the making of the Community Land Unit (CLU), established in 1997 (Moore and McKee, 2012). This act gave the necessary support for securing community land through technical assistance while the Scottish Land Fund, between the years of 2001 to 2006, gave critical financial backing to the program (Moore and McKee, 2012). By obtaining legislative support and access to financial capital, community land trusts were able to facilitate a rise in affordable housing and new developments within the housing market. As of 2017 Scotland has over 25 CLTs in operation that support agriculture, sustainability, economic, and social development for around 25,000 residents (“Community Land Scotland,” 2017).

In the Global South, community land trusts have also been looked upon to create safe housing for the poor. The Tanzania-Bondeni CLT is located in Voi, Kenya and was implemented from 1991 to 2004 as an improvement project for the frequently displaced residents of the Voi River which frequently flooded the squatter’s community (Midheme & Moulaert, 2013). In 1991, the community came together and petitioned the local government to legally recognize their community in which doing so would allow them to receive the much-needed services and land protection (Bassett, 2005). The Ministry of Local Government (MoLG) and GTZ, a German development agency, agreed to work in collaboration with other organizations to finance and support the project (Midheme & Moulaert, 2013). Just as in Scotland, the backing of the government and the private project financiers allowed for the community land trust to develop. Due to the nature of the land, which held no infrastructure for plumbing or running water, the community land trust also created job opportunities within the community (Midheme, 2013). The

quality of life amongst the residents of Voi increased due to their ability to access municipal services, subsidized housing loans, and flexible payment plans to ensure residents are given every possible chance of maintaining housing within the community land trust.

As I have discussed, the CLT model provides communities with the ability to voice their opinions in community development, protects residents from increasing property taxes due to development, and even creates employment opportunities in some models. Additional questions still remain on how a community can effectively petition the state for a CLT since most models are constructed by the state and then presented to the community. Each CLT presented different challenges, but the overall impact of the CLT model is generally positive in providing affordable housing. In the next chapter, I take an in-depth look at three different expressions of the CLT model in the U.S. context. Through analyzing their claims and practices, I examine how individual citizens can *be* in the city as well as how they participate in collective governance of place.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Case Study

In order to examine the ways in which the community land trust model can realize the goals of ‘the right to the city,’ I utilize a case study methodology, wherein I examine in detail three different CLTs. The intention of this work is not to represent all CLTs but rather to learn from these detailed cases to better understand the possibilities for community land trusts. Before examining two CLTs in Georgia, I first focus on one of the more significant, nationally-recognized CLTs: The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative.

3.1.1 Boston, MA: Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative/Dudley Neighbors Incorporated

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative is the product of several non-profits and community groups in Roxbury, Massachusetts, joining to improve the conditions in their community. The neighborhoods had fallen victim to abandonment, arson, and illegal dumping since the 1960s (Medoff & Sklar, 1994). Trustees of The Riley Foundation, one of Boston’s largest private foundations, came to the community to meet with a community-based non-profit and realized the potential to revitalize the distressed neighborhood riddled with vacant lots. It was this tour that spurred the \$30,000 grant for capital improvement from the organization and to conduct the *Dudley Initiative* report to define community problems and assets (Medoff & Sklar, 1994). Essentially, the report served as the strategic plan that the city government used to decide to award the newly formed Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) with eminent-domain, a legal tool to force individuals to sell their land (VonHoffman, 1998).

The City of Boston also assisted in the growth and community support behind DSNI with the Boston Redevelopment Authority's "Dudley Square Plan" that impacted the newly formed DSNI target area. With no clear community engagement initiative and speculative housing developments quoting units 50% over the average income of current residents, the community came out in droves to DSNI's first community meeting in 1985 to rally against the city's plan (Medoff & Sklar, 1994). Additionally, this first meeting also marked the transition of the organization from agency-driven to resident-driven, where the community challenged the proposed DSNI board seats.

DSNI Governing Board

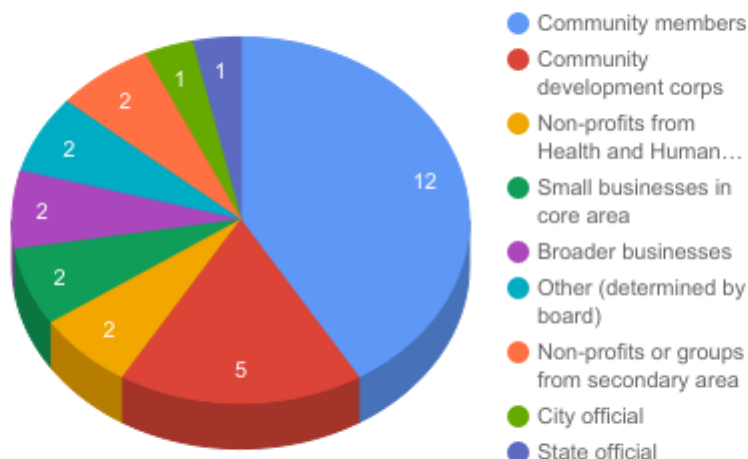


Figure 2: Board member seats of DSNI

Prior to the first meeting, members along with the Riley Foundation representatives had decided on a board made up of 4 community seats out of 23 and planned to vote the motion in on that day. With an outburst, the community demanded

more representation and the group quickly modified the board make up to 51% or more of their seats to residents of the target neighborhoods (Newport, 2004). The new board was comprised of 31 members, as seen in Figure 2. The 12 community member seats were divided into the four ethnic and racial groups that make up the neighborhoods, Black, Cape Verdean, Latino, and White, reflective of the neighborhood demographics seen in Table 1 (Medoff & Sklar, 1994). The Riley Foundation allowed for the community to have full control over the process and did not impose its own agenda nor ask for a seat on the board (VonHoffman, 1998).

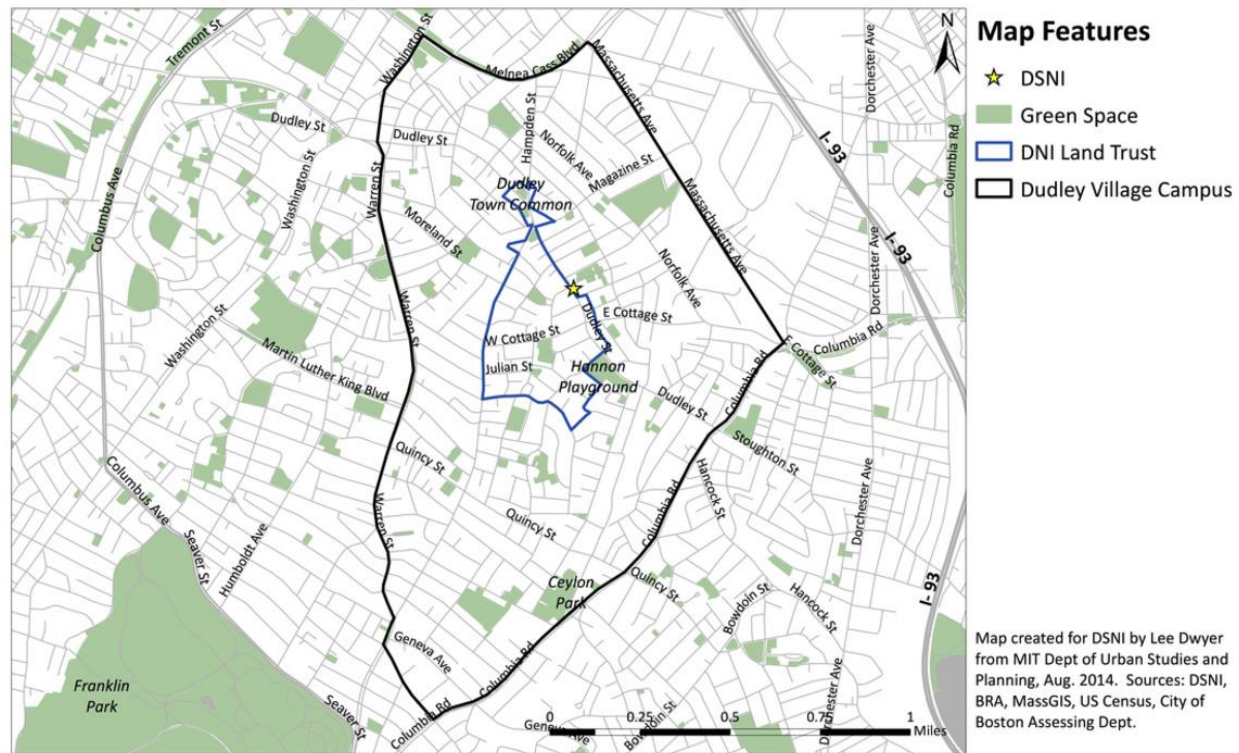
Table 1: Demographics comparison of Boston and DSNI service area

Subject	Boston city, Suffolk County, Massachusetts			ZCTA5 02119	
	Occupied housing units	Owner-occupied housing units	Renter-occupied housing units	Occupied housing units	Owner-occupied housing units
	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate
Occupied housing units	256,294	87,958	168,336	10,693	2,253
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER					
One race --					
White	58.5%	69.9%	52.6%	15.1%	18.6%
Black or African American	22.5%	18.7%	24.5%	60.2%	70.7%
Asian	8.7%	6.4%	9.9%	1.6%	1.6%
Two or more races	3.5%	2.0%	4.2%	4.6%	3.3%
Hispanic or Latino origin	15.7%	7.6%	19.9%	28.7%	12.1%

(ACS 5-Year Estimate)

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) is the umbrella organization for Dudley Neighbors Incorporated (DNI), the entity that holds and manages the real estate portfolio. Currently DNI holds more than 30 acres of land that has supplied the neighborhood with 225 new permanently affordable homes, playgrounds, gardens, and other public spaces for the community, as seen in Figure 3 (“Dudley Neighbors Incorporated Background,” 2015). Three representatives from DSNI and DNI were interviewed for this research, including a business owner, and two board members, one of which is a CLT homeowner.

The Dudley Village Campus & Dudley Triangle



(DSNI.org)

Figure 3: Map of DNI target area and secondary area

3.1.2 Athens, GA: Athens Land Trust

Athens is a college town, located within one of Georgia's smallest counties (see figure 4). The county has consolidated with the city to create Athens-Clarke County with a population of 120,905 with 29% of the population enrolled in the University of Georgia (Bureau, 2017; "Demographics | Athens-Clarke County, GA - Official Website," 2017). As seen in the Figure 4, Athens-Clarke County has approximately 125 square miles within its jurisdiction, and land is increasingly in demand in this once agricultural- and manufacturing-based county.

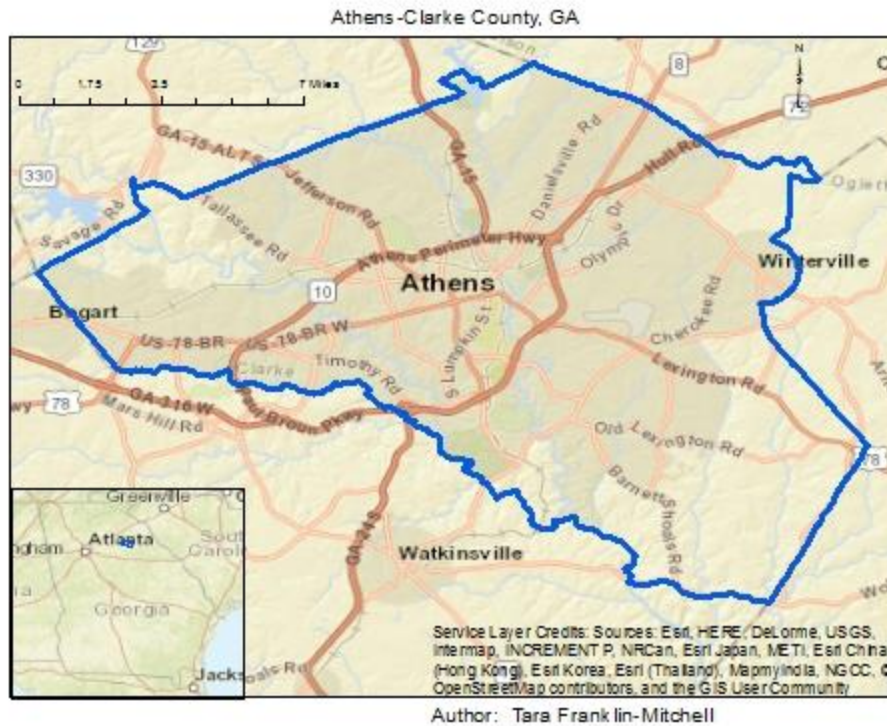


Figure 4: Map of Athens-Clarke County

The county has a unique problem with housing in comparison to other CLT organizations discussed in this study: it has been largely gentrified by students, as the off-campus student housing has spread throughout the surrounding community and has increased the renter-occupied housing as seen in Table 2. Pickren (2012) refers to this phenomenon as the “studentification” of the city, drawing on the literature around student geographies and student place-making. He found that 500 residents of a mobile home park were evicted to make way for luxury student apartments and were unable to find affordable housing within the county due to the approval of rezoning land use in the 1999 Comprehensive Land Use Plan within the Athens city center (Pickren, 2012).

Ramifications of this plan can be seen along the main thoroughfares where high-density apartment buildings boast of new luxury units.

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units for Athens-Clarke County

Subject	Athens-Clarke County unified government (balance), Georgia		
	Occupied housing units	Owner-occupied housing units	Renter-occupied housing units
	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate
Occupied housing units	42,861	17,149	25,712
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER			
One race --			
White	66.3%	72.9%	62.0%
Black or African American	26.9%	22.1%	30.1%
Asian	3.4%	2.1%	4.3%
Two or more races	1.8%	1.2%	2.1%
Hispanic or Latino origin	7.2%	5.2%	8.5%
AGE OF HOUSEHOLDER			
Under 35 years	40.2%	15.5%	56.6%
35 to 44 years	16.3%	15.3%	16.9%
45 to 54 years	14.0%	17.6%	11.7%
55 to 64 years	13.4%	21.9%	7.8%
65 to 74 years	9.4%	17.3%	4.1%
75 to 84 years	4.4%	9.0%	1.3%
85 years and over	2.3%	3.3%	1.7%

(ACS 5-Year Estimate)

The Athens Land Trust (ALT) was established in 1994 as a land conservation and community land trust by Skipper Stipemaas and Nancy Stangle, and ALT sold its first CLT property in 2004 (ALT, 2017; Skobba & Carswell, 2014). With over 13,781 acres of conservation land, in and outside of Athens-Clarke County, dedication to community agriculture, and permanently affordable homes for purchase, lease-purchase, and rent, ALT has been recognized for its community impact by the Georgia Department of Community Affairs (ALT, 2017). As of 2017 ALT holds 50 homes and a 370-unit apartment complex within prime areas of the city. ALT plays an intricate role in

stabilizing the county where university's needs and community needs are often in tension.

The board of the ALT is comprised of 15 seats, where currently only one seat is filled by a homeowner and the remainder include a diverse group of businesses, non-profits, academia, local farmers, city planners, and developers (ALT, 2017). ALT has a strong partnership with the county in which the county distributes a portion of its federal Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) budget to ALT. This is ALT's primary grant and supports its acquisition, demolition, new construction, and rehabilitation of properties as well as staffing. This partnership will be discussed further in Chapter 4. For this study, two employees of ALT were interviewed.

3.1.3 Atlanta, GA: Westside Atlanta Land Trust

Atlanta, Georgia is popularly known as the “Black Mecca” and “the city too busy to hate”, but it is one of the many major cities going through a drastic shift in population demographics. Atlanta's White population grew faster than any other city between 2000 and 2006 and continues to grow with various in town developments attracting the returning population (Strait & Gong, 2015). African Americans experience a high rate of neighborhood segregation in comparison to other minority groups in the city and are concentrated along the west and south side of the city (McNulty & Holloway, 2000; Strait & Gong, 2015). Not surprisingly, the majority of public housing projects were also located in these areas, creating a landscape of disadvantaged and dis-enfranchised people (McNulty & Holloway, 2000).

Table 3: Demographic Characteristics for WALT target area

Subject	Atlanta city, Georgia			ZCTA5 30314	
	Occupied housing units	Owner-occupied housing units	Renter-occupied housing units	Occupied housing units	Owner-occupied housing units
	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate
Occupied housing units	185,820	80,984	104,836	7,264	2,330
RACE AND HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLDER					
One race --					
White	45.6%	58.7%	35.4%	3.5%	5.0%
Black or African American	48.5%	36.6%	57.7%	94.9%	93.9%
Asian	3.3%	2.8%	3.6%	0.4%	0.3%
Two or more races	1.6%	1.1%	2.0%	0.7%	0.8%
Hispanic or Latino origin	3.6%	2.9%	4.2%	1.4%	2.2%

(ACS 5-Year Estimate)

In 2007, the Atlanta Housing Authority announced that they would begin dismantling its public housing and in 2011 demolition of all units was completed (Hankins, Puckett, Oakley, & Ruel, 2014; Oakley, Ruel, & Reid, 2013). The end of public housing, which moved many families out of the neighborhoods they had called home for generations, created a demand for affordable housing. The loss of two housing projects, Herndon Homes and Bowen Homes, had a profound effect on the English Avenue and Vine City communities. Families displaced from public housing circulated through the neighborhoods living in subpar conditions until they could no longer afford to remain in the city (Hankins et al., 2014). Slum lords began to take over the communities as speculative investors looked to profit off the proposed investment in the community. This can be seen in the amount of renter-occupied housing in Table 3.



Figure 5: WALT target neighborhood, NPU-L

There have been many plans to redevelop and reinvest in the English Avenue and Vine City neighborhoods. In 1974, the City of Atlanta divided all of the neighborhoods into twenty-five clusters in which they call Neighborhood Planning Units (NPUs) as a means of providing a means of communication between the mayor and city council and the communities (“City of Atlanta, GA: Neighborhood Planning Unit (NPU),” 2016). This act combined English Avenue and Vine City neighborhoods into one planning body, NPU-L (see figure 5). In 1987 during the talks of building the Georgia Dome, home of the Atlanta Falcons football team, community members asked that housing be a part of a community benefits plan, given that the new stadium would be located on its eastern border. Reverend W.L. Cottrell of Beulah Baptist Church stated, “[a housing package] would be a marketing point to me... We need some victory of some kind in our

community. We need something we can see and touch, something we can feel. I'm trying hard to talk [to stadium representatives], but I can't find anybody to listen" (Galloway, 1987). This narrative has been stated time and time again to Atlanta's city officials, developers, universities, and numerous social outlets, but attention to affordable housing seems elusive for NPU-L residents.

Now almost 30 years later, another stadium on a larger scale is being built next door to the current Georgia Dome to be the new home of the Atlanta Falcons and new soccer league. The Mercedes Benz Stadium has already led to the demolition of two historic African American churches that were spared in the previous Dome construction, as well as left the community with a dead-end street (Martin Luther King Jr. Drive previously connected the Westside communities to downtown). New promises of investment in housing and development have been made but progress has been stagnant. This has spurred the community into grassroots efforts, including neighborhood clean ups, urban gardens in vacant lots, and the accumulation of parcels by churches and organizations to attempt to create their own affordable housing market. HELPORG.INC, established in the community as a youth development non-profit in 2004, witnessed the changes to the community and decided to do something about the displacement of the youth that they served. From this, Westside Atlanta Land Trust (WALT) program was created.

Unlike the aforementioned CLT models, WALT's CLT model was organically birthed from a grassroots effort. Residents that made up the board of the organization learned about the CLT model and began to educate the community about its benefit. Residents began to collect names of seniors who owned homes prior to their passing and

finding the heirs from all over the U.S. Many of the houses had thousands of dollars in back taxes owed on the property and were unable to pay it or did not want the property, so they donated the properties into the WALT portfolio. Only one out of the 12 parcels held by WALT has been purchased by the organization.

Currently WALT has the challenge of finding funding to finance the demolition, new construction, and rehabilitation of the properties. All members and board members of WALT are volunteers, and finding an organization to partner with a grassroots organization in one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city is extremely challenging. As WALT's work with the local universities and planning projects has become increasingly public, members hope their efforts bring legitimacy to the organization to create the needed partnerships for the model to work. One of the main goals the organization set for the properties is to provide affordable housing at the annual median income (AMI) of the neighborhood to ensure in-place residents could purchase the homes at a low mortgage rate.

Table 4: Income comparison in the past 12 months (In 2015 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars) 2011-2015

Subject	Atlanta city, Georgia		ZCTA5 30314	
	Households	Families	Households	Families
	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate	Estimate
Total	185,820	78,839	7,264	3,048
Less than \$10,000	12.8%	9.9%	17.3%	17.6%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	6.3%	4.9%	10.9%	7.2%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	11.1%	10.3%	21.4%	17.4%
\$25,000 to \$34,999	9.4%	8.8%	13.9%	12.3%
\$35,000 to \$49,999	12.0%	10.2%	13.4%	13.1%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	14.9%	12.3%	12.4%	15.9%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	9.3%	8.8%	6.3%	10.0%
\$100,000 to \$149,999	10.5%	12.1%	2.9%	3.8%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	4.9%	6.9%	1.0%	1.8%
\$200,000 or more	8.8%	15.7%	0.6%	0.9%
Median income (dollars)	47,527	60,108	25,373	32,571
Mean income (dollars)	84,886	117,128	35,951	42,751

(ACS 5-Year Estimate)

Table 4 shows the stark difference in the neighborhoods annual income in comparison to the rest of the city. Seventeen percent of the households within the zip code of the WALT properties make \$10,000 or less and 21% of the households make \$25,000 to a little over \$34,000 a year. The income disparity creates a huge problem for seniors and the working poor who live in the neighborhood that is already feeling the pressure of increasing rents and property taxes. Immergluck (2015) discusses the changes in housing rentals in Atlanta, stating the city has lost over 1,500 affordable housing units every year over a three-year period. The City of Atlanta has tried to implement a CLT model in partnership with the Atlanta Fulton County Land Bank Authority, but after 8 years, little to no traction has been made to fully implement the model and create permanently affordable housing (Fujii, 2016). Board members feel it is imperative that WALT acts now to capture as many current residents and properties in the neighborhood to ensure success in their mission.

3.2 Data

Data were collected for this study using several qualitative methods, including archival analysis of web content, observation, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews. Qualitative methods allow for a deeper understanding of the data collected and allow the researcher to compel a clear story of the phenomenon being studied. Using ethnographic methodology for data collection allows for the researcher to give “voice” to its contributors which could modify the top-down processes and programs that affect their daily lives (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999).

3.2.1 Archives

The webpages for each group were used to collect data on the location, history, and services that each organization provides to its community. The assumption was made that the webpages are updated frequently and would provide additional information on the rationale for the CLT and the impact the CLT is having on its community. In the case of organizations that were programs of a larger non-profit, only the program's website was viewed.

3.2.2 Observations

Observations, both participatory and direct in nature, were a part of this study. I conducted a direct observation of each CLT's properties via tour by the organization or self-guided with maps of the properties publicly provided. This allowed for a "sense of place" and an on the ground perspective of the neighborhoods being studied. I also observed the properties that surrounded the CLT properties as well as the characteristics of the population.

Participatory observations were conducted with the WALT organization in which I attended their public meetings on the first and third Saturdays of the month at the Neighborhood Union Health Center Community Room located within the community beginning in July 2014 through March 2017. From 3pm to 5pm I observed the attendance of residents, businesses, faith leaders, and government officials at the meetings and actively participated in the meeting. This process allowed me to ask questions to understand what the community wants from the organization and how the organization responds to residents' concerns and needs. I also was invited by WALT to attend meetings with the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative, Invest Atlanta, Atlanta Land

Bank Authority, and a meeting with the HUD Region IV representative of the Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity division. The implications of my presence in the meeting was beneficial to both WALT and this research, where WALT was able to use its relationship with higher education and the university system through me and I could observe the response and actions to the organization by their potential funders and partners.

3.2.3 Interviews

Interviews were conducted after all observations of locations were completed. The interviews engaged the leadership and board members, past and present, of the organizations and were essential in understanding how each organization's CLT model could align with or potentially challenge Lefebvre's right to the city concept. Participants were contacted using the organizations' public webpage where email addresses were accessible or responded to by completing a "contact us" generated email.

Interviews lasted an average of 50 minutes and were conducted over the phone. Participants were given the option to accept or decline the recording of their interview in which the Olympus Digital Voice Recorder WS-821 was paired with the Olympus TP-8 Telephone Pick-up Microphone to ensure clarity. No compensation was given to participants.

The interviewers were asked about the history of their organization, the levels of community engagement and involvement, and the right to the city concept. By understanding how they personally viewed their organization's mission and the implementation of justice for their community through "rights" acted upon by the organization helped me in interpreting the degree to which the organization aligned

with the right to the city framework. Interviews were transcribed and coded using NVivo 11 to identify themes within the interviews and websites. In total 3 interviews were conducted with members of the Dudley Street Initiative, 2 with ALT, and 2 with WALT members.

3.3 Research Question

The research question is framed by the Lefebvre's right to the city concept and intends to answer the question: "To what degree does the community land trust model provide a right to the city?" Furthermore, the study identifies in what ways the organizations exemplify the 'right to the city' concept as well as identifying the processes they have in place to achieve their goals. The right to the city is operationally defined in this study as the means to *be* in the city, or to be able to remain living in the city, and collective self-governance, which is the ability to democratically influence development and policy within their local context.

4 FINDINGS

As I discussed in Chapter 2, the community land trust model offers a way in which urban residents may remain in a neighborhood. To what degree does this model work? And in what ways? In what follows, I organize my findings into three main sections: first, I discuss the ways in which the urban political contexts matter in understanding the challenges and opportunities for the CLT model; next, I explicitly examine how the CLTs enable residents (and what kind) the right to remain in the city; and lastly, I explore the degree to which the CLT fosters participation and self-governance in urban life.

4.1 In What Ways Does Context Matter?

The location, history, and culture of a place influence the development of the city and its planning strategies. Each city discussed in this study has its own unique response to gentrification and globalization. In this section I will explore how city zoning, planning, and history influenced how the CLT programs respond and operate within the city.

Race also plays an important part in the discussion of context, as it is an intricate piece in the neighborhood development within the three geographies. Boston experienced redlining and white flight similar to major cities around the country. The Roxbury and Dorchester neighborhoods have a concentration of affordable and public housing serving a majority of Black (including African and Afro-Caribbean migrants) and Latinos. As plans of redeveloping the area were announced, it was this marginalized group that would be displaced. The CLT model was introduced to assist in stabilizing of the community as new development was introduced.

Located in the South, the Atlanta and Athens-Clarke County land trust have additional barriers. With a history of Jim Crow, many communities continue to be segregated. In Atlanta, the west and south side of the city are predominantly African American whereas the north and east side of the city are predominantly White. As the city is changing demographically more traditionally African American communities are being bought by investors, speculating a profit as more development enters the previously under invested communities. Athens- Clarke County is unique in the sense that the community affected by studentification is diverse, including migrants workers.

4.1.1 Boston

The Roxbury neighborhood is located in the heart of Boston, but was ignored and poorly funded after white flight to the suburbs. There was little concern on behalf of the city to address the blighted properties and vacant lots that riddled the community. When the Dudley Square Plan was “mistakenly” released during the conception of DSNI, many residents who would not have participated in the first meeting of the organization showed up in opposition of the city’s plan. With its weak citizen engagement and input, residents were weary of the city’s promises to clean up the neighborhood and provide long overdue opportunities to the residents.

This allowed for DSNI to create a space of inclusion and representation that rivaled the city’s plan. The city worked in partnership with DSNI because of its connection to the Riley Foundation and additional government connections on the board. Trust was established between the organization and the government to create many of the partnerships and policies that benefit DSNI today. Without the connections

to the Riley Foundation, the city may have never granted DSNI the power of eminent domain.

Eminent domain allowed for the City of Boston to add tax delinquent land to the acres of land already owned by the city to provide DSNI with the 64-acre area of land to develop. Many cities that have an eminent domain law specifically state that the land can only be taken for public use and prohibiting private economic development, which in DSNI's case was the development of CLT housing. Thus, Boston poses a unique situation in which eminent domain was allowed for the "public good" instead of public use.

4.1.2 Athens

Athens also had an influential board that helped garner support from the city and county government. ALT did not start off with an affordable housing component. The founders were focused on land preservation within the county. The housing program followed ten years later due to the need of a housing intervention after the Athens 1999 rezoning plan increased the ability of off campus student housing within the city, which placed pressure on the affordable housing market. If it were not for the explosion of student housing developments displacing residents there would not have been such a need for the CLT in Athens-Clarke County, because the college town had a steady housing market with little fluctuation.

ALT's ability to work with the county and the university system through its board members allowed for the partnership to flourish. The means of funding the program came from the CDBG and HOME funds line itemed directly to ALT. In the context of both Boston and Athens, the city government partnered with the organization to balance

the developmental progress of the city while appeasing local residents and organizations through funding and development assistance. Without influential people on its board, the organizations would have had difficulty building their relationships with the city government.

Athens-Clarke County is located in rural Georgia and is relatively small at approximately 125 square miles. Unlike the other case sites, the county is majority White (65%) and the largest minorities present are African-Americans (28%) (Bureau, 2017b). ALT has a rigorous community engagement initiative to educate the community on the model to overcome a stigmatization that the CLT model mimics the sharecropping methods of the post-emancipation South, where former slaves were allowed to build homes and farm on primarily former slaveholders land.

4.1.3 Atlanta

For years Atlanta's plan and trajectory to become a leading global city has not aligned with the needs of the working-class. With a freeze on public transportation expansion due to racially-led fears and the demolition of all public housing, Atlanta has been and continues to struggle with the need for affordable housing units. Government entities like the Fulton County/ City of Atlanta Land Bank Authority have alleviated some communities of vacant lots with stipulations that development on the lots be made for affordable housing units. Unfortunately, the program has not had the impact needed to stop the hemorrhaging of affordable units. Additionally, the city has attempted the CLT model, the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative (ALTC), which was to serve as the central server to non-profit and for-profit organizations. ALTC was established in 2009

but has struggled to make any traction in the city due to leadership turnover and the lack of effective marketing and development.

The culture of African-American neighborhoods in Atlanta, just as in Boston, is one wherein residents express the desire to be involved in the development of their neighborhoods and are represented by strong connections to community non-profits and advisory groups to city government. Atlanta shows signs of being the perfect fertile ground for a CLT partnership between the community organization and the city. Unlike Boston and Athens, WALT's board does not have the same influence or connections in the city government to create the partnership through its network. In this case, the city will have to actually meet residents where they are, not with a representative of good will and intention as a buffer.

Atlanta also has a reasonable transportation network, specifically in the target neighborhoods of WALT, which allows for residents to access jobs and resources throughout the city. In comparison to the other case study sites, residents within the City of Atlanta have access to more resources via public transportation than in the City of Athens, and both dwarf in comparison to the City of Boston's public transit that even boasts commuter rail lines into the suburbs. Cities with high density and poor public transportation, like Atlanta, need to preserve affordable housing to give residents the ability to access to the assets of the urban.

The ability to analyze the three models highlights the importance of context in the development and support of the CLT model. Atlanta has proven to be an ideal place to create a CLT, but it would require the City of Atlanta to break from the traditional top-down model of connected board members and CEOs to building relationship and

trust with those seldom invited to the table of decision-making, the residents. This further defines the model presented in Chapter 2, and adds to the conversation of the right to the city in a way some may view as radical in itself: collective governance. We will discuss this concept within each city.

4.2 Can Residents *be*/remain in the City?

To have the right to the city, one must be intricately connected to the city through place, mobility, and acceptance. This has been explained through the multiple works on marginalized populations, women's mobility, and housing (Bauder, 2016; Hankins et al., 2014; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Paget-Seekins, 2013). In this section I will explore how in each city, the right to remain or *be* in the city is addressed within the CLT model.

4.2.1 Boston

Through my observation of Roxbury, the population continues to be diverse. There are additional community development corporations (CDCs) in the neighborhood that also serve to keep residents housed within the community. Additionally, there are signs of investment along Dudley Square, which serves as a central hub for public transit. With its access to transportation and multiple housing programs, externally there is a sense of residents' ability to be within the neighborhood.

The Dudley Neighbors, Incorporated (DNI) website states that the organization has added 225 newly built affordable homes to the neighborhood, most likely stabilizing blighted areas of the community and increasing the likelihood of resident retention. Two leaseholders are featured on the site. One is an immigrant family that was previously renting in Roxbury and the other is a native Roxbury/Dorchester resident who bought

her home in 1998 (“Meet The Leaseholders,” 2016). However, there is no priority given to residents, as all applicants are put into a lottery for the chance to purchase a newly-built CLT home. With no ranking system, this could be problematic if the ratio of current residents in the lottery is lower than new entrants to the area. There have not been any new builds for a couple of years, but the organization is preparing to bring up to 15 properties into the community land trust over the next 3 to 5 years. With an effective marketing strategy, this may possibly give additional residents the ability to remain in the community.

From the interviews with DSNI representatives, the ability for residents to be in the city is there, but it is difficult to stay if residents are not a part of an affordable housing program. Specifically, with DSNI there is a target area in which the organization has access to abandon lots to develop and that land is nearing complete development.

We had received eminent domain authority from the city to takeover lots that were available that covered over, spans over 60 acres.... Um, fast forwarding to now we filled up almost all of those parcels. I’m literally working with literally maybe a handful of sites right now.... (T.D)

With parcels filled in their target area, DSNI will soon need to acquire parcels outside of the agreed upon parameters from 30 years ago to continue to have an impact in the neighborhood and the affordable housing market in Boston. This identifies an issue in the right to the city for the organization in which they are captured within a strict geographic location, restricted from growing unless given permission by the city. This limitation also makes the organization unable to truly access and assist other neighborhoods and families outside of the target area.

When asked what the right to the city means, representatives of DNI and DSNI had different views. Representative T.D. expressed a sense of inclusion into the operations and decisions of the city.

How would I define what that means? Uh- the fairness and equality and being able to interact with the city... It's a very important component. We have to work in partnership with the city to achieve the things that we have- that we want, and we really had to work with the city to achieve the things we have on the land trust now. (T.D.)

M.B. expressed what many organizations define the right to the city as and showed a great deal of passion as she spoke about the housing issues in Boston.

Right to the city is the idea of- that people on the land have the right to the land (laughs). Not the corporations, not the banks, but that the people on the land have the right to the land. (M.B.)

This statement was made during a discussion of how foreclosures are happening all over Boston including Chinatown, Roxbury, and South Boston, and how families were being kicked out of their homes for them to then sit vacant for months or longer. This is due to the rising cost of living in the city and the inability for working class families to keep up with the housing inflation. This also is the only organization that fully knew the right to the city concept and how it applies to their organization's mission.

There was also discussion about the importance of physically being a part of the community and the city. A DSNI leader started off as just a CLT homeowner, but he became increasingly involved in the program until he was offered an executive position. Another from DNI discussed the importance of being seen and active in the community.

Pretty much the nuts and bolts and strength of the livelihood of the organization is the interaction with the local residents and businesses and religious institutions. Um, that's the backbone of the organization. (T. D)

All representatives of DNI and DSNI stated many residents fear not being able to remain in the city due to gentrification and that there needs to be more efforts between the community, the developers, and the city to mitigate its effect. Some believe that even the presence of CDCs and even their organization are lending to the gentrification of the neighborhood.

What happened to all of a sudden remove the radical organizing? So you know now I would say DSNI is actually part of the problem of gentrifying Dudley and Roxbury right now, because all the CDCs are in right now are in the real estate speculation game. (M.B.)

It's gentrification, which right now is a big issue. People are scared to be displaced. To me I fear that, too. Because I have been here all my life and I would hate for somebody to just- especially the people who would mostly get displaced would be seniors. (E.D.)

...there is a developer coming in to build brand new apartment units and we question how much are you charging for them rental units. Are you charging a price that our folks right now can't afford and ultimately gonna push them out of the neighborhood? Um, so we are always challenging things that are happening in the neighborhood and figuring out whether it is going to impact our local people. You know, we have an understanding of more or less what the average – uh income is per household and so if you get a developer coming in with luxury condos we are immediately gonna frown upon it because we know it is going to impact the folks that want to stay local and it's going to push them out. And so there is the whole gentrification piece starts creeping in and that's when our residents begin to raise their voices a little bit more. (T.D.)

Within the DNI and DSNI organizations, representatives identified a desire to keep residents within the city and to decrease displacement of residents being priced out of the neighborhood, but the fact that there is not a policy or concession given to residents when applying for the CLT home lottery system does not ensure in-place

residents a better chance of remaining. M.B. was able to point out the fact that the way the organization is currently working could also be lending to the gentrification of the neighborhood that they are fighting against. At conception, those purchasing the CLT homes were from the neighborhood, but as the homes are being put on the market for resale there are no stipulations for it to be recycled within the in-place resident population. The DNI model allows for people to be in the city that would not otherwise be able to afford to, but it is unclear how many of the in-place residents are able to participate and gain housing from the program in comparison to those coming from outside the neighborhood in an already restrictive footprint.

4.2.2 Athens

My observation of Athens proved difficult, as there was little to no foot traffic to indicate the demographics of the neighborhoods the CLT properties were located in. Many of the properties within the land trust were scattered throughout the city with pockets of properties within subdivisions or along specific corridors. During my observation, I saw buses along main streets within the business and college district, but none within the residential surrounding areas. This would be problematic as the residential areas outside of the city center were evident to be lower income areas. The ability to be in the city also includes the ability to move fluidly through the city to access the assets of the city. This may be hindered for residents who do not own their own transportation and are not within walking distance to a bus stop. Essentially those who cannot be in the physical city center cannot fully access the resources of the city.

The Athens Land Trust (ALT) website effectively displays its mission of affordable housing, community agriculture, and land conservation with each having its

own programs and outreach. As of 2017 the organization has three houses on their site listed as under contract. These are newly built homes with 3 bedrooms and 2 bathrooms for \$95,000, establishing the monthly payment for these homes as \$600 to \$700 a month in comparison to the average rental unit cost of \$815 a month (Census ACS Survey). Many ALT homes range in monthly payments between \$450 to \$700 a month, which is within the price range of approximately 12% of the households within Athens-Clarke County (Census ACS Survey). To qualify for an ALT home applicants must make less than 80% of the area median income (AMI) (ALT, 2017). These statistics show that it is possible for ALT to serve as a means for residents to remain in the city, but capacity may be the overall issue as the organization currently holds 50 single-family homes.

ALT also has an apartment community of 120 units, 96 for families making under 50% AMI and the remainder at market rate (ALT, 2017). Along with amenities on the property including a pool and a fitness center, ALT, along with the apartment management service, created partnerships with local businesses and organizations to provide employment programs, computer classes, financial seminars, and more in the community. Residents are part of neighborhood decisionmaking through resident association meetings. This open interaction and education enhances both the physical and emotional sense of being a part of the city through community engagement and physically positioning residents on the bus line and close to other desirable amenities within the city.

In interviews with ALT leadership, many of the initial observations from the website and my personal observation of the city were confirmed. Leadership felt as though they had to work hard to educate residents on the CLT model, but then struggled

with getting them to qualify for CLT homes because of the lack of quality employment opportunities.

They [the University of Georgia] didn't hire people from the community, they just hired the students and they hired people from the neighboring counties and let them come in, but they didn't hire people who actually lived here and benefitted from UGA. (K.C.)

My community is sorely lacking in employment opportunities and not just any kind of employment opportunities, but employment opportunities you can actually live on. It's also lacking on adequate transportation even though my community has won the best transportation system 3 years in a row I believe. That is only within the core of the city and a lot of the people work on the outskirts of the city where transportation doesn't reach. (D. A)

There is also a culture of hesitation with the CLT model in the rural south. Many residents equate the model to old south sharecropping in which newly freed slaves were able to stay on their former master's land while tending to the master's crops. In this culture, "if you don't own the land you don't own anything." This has been a constant area of education for ALT as they work to get more current residents of the city qualified for CLT properties.

Given that this is the South, people are not- do not fully understand what it is and the first thing you hear is that it is share-cropping even though it's not. (D.A.)

Additionally, there were regrets on not being able to capitalize off of the implementation of inclusionary zoning after the 1999 rezoning plan. As previously stated, the rezoning plan catapulted the off-campus housing development and created an imbalance in the housing market. If the plan had been passed with an inclusionary zoning clause, the organization leader feels as though the city could have done a better job of building funds for and units of affordable housing. The sentiment of those in

power needing to make social decisions precedent over economic decisions, along with the impacts of the wrong decisions, is important to note as well.

You know, if five years ago they had created an inclusionary zoning program or policy of where developers who were building student housing had to pay a certain amount into a pot for the creation of affordable housing, that would have helped fund a housing production trust fund and created affordable housing for families here in Athens. But they missed that opportunity and over the five years there has been massive student rental developments that could have benefitted... (D. A)

I think justice for my community would be having those that are in positions of power to actually have the courage to make decisions that are the right decisions... It has too many long ranging effects that people aren't even thinking about when they are making these decisions that two, three, four, five years down the line is when they realize "oh, that policy that I chose not to vote on that went into effect is now negatively affecting my community" and now you have to try and change it all over again. (D.A.)

ALT could have possibly benefitted from the funds collected from developers of student housing, emphasizing the importance of policies that protect communities while allowing economic development. The idea of creating a pool of money to finance acquisition, demolition, and rehabilitation of properties would have assisted in ALT providing more opportunities for permanently affordable housing and essentially increasing the means to be in the city.

4.2.3 Atlanta

My participatory observation with the WALT program began in the Fall of 2014. Prior to then I had attended several of their bi-monthly advisory board meetings to learn about the organization and its mission. This partnership was possible because of my prior meeting attendance and work on a project over the summer of that year.

The WALT organization is unique in comparison to other CLTs discussed because it is essentially comprised of residents empowering each other for their own betterment as well as that of other residents. The organization made that quite clear that they wanted to partner with me and with the Geosciences department at Georgia State University in this project to show that they were serious about the work they do to stabilize their community as well as to be taken seriously by the city government and quasi-governmental entities.

Currently residents are having difficulty remaining in the neighborhood as development continues to move west of the city, driving up rent and housing prices in the working-class neighborhood. Many residents have been displaced outside of the city as discussed in Chapter 3, and the WALT organization's mission is to serve and preserve in-place residents and their successive generations ("WALT," 2016). This includes recapturing the displaced residents that have been in the neighborhood for multiple generations. Currently, the city structure is limiting the right for low-income and fixed-income residents to remain within it, and WALT is acting as the agent to push back for inclusionary rights.

The WALT website shows its work in reclaiming vacant lots. For example, one of the vacant lots that WALT owns is used as an "outdoor classroom" in which residents learn about soil quality, the dangers of contaminants in soil and water in the neighborhood. The program also teaches residents how to garden using their raised beds and water barrels as teaching tools for the community. By being a part of the organization or actively participating in the events and programs held by the

organization, WALT is effectively mobilizing the community to be not just part of the city, but actively be a part in the change within their neighborhood.

Interviews with WALT leadership further press the need to be and remain in the city and in their neighborhood.

So what we are trying to do is to create the Westside Atlanta Land Trust to keep, say the elderly, those on fixed incomes, or those who just own homes in the neighborhood period. Keep them from being priced out by taxes from the new construction that is going on in the neighborhoods. (G.W.)

Specifically, for the WALT program, the mission is to organize the community's power for self-determination to serve and preserve in-place residents. That is the short version of what our mission is over at WALT. (P.H.)

Unlike other models, WALT also includes the ability of other residents to enter their home bought with a traditional mortgage into the land trust to preserve the affordable taxes for those on fixed incomes or those who are facing hardship due to property tax increases.

Due to WALT's inability to fund demolition and rehabilitation on its 12 properties, the organization has not been able to provide residents with a means of remaining in the city, which is why it seeks to partner with the city, county, and organizations like the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative, Invest Atlanta, and the Westside Future Fund. The Westside Future Fund is an organization that coordinates all the development dollars for the communities on the west side of Atlanta contributed from the Author Blank Foundation, Chick-Fil-A Foundation, and other philanthropists. Through WALT's partnerships with the small business community and the university system, it has been able to create renderings of container homes and sustainable housing designs for its lots and WALT members consult with a developer who resides

and works within the community. With funding through a partnership with one or more of the aforementioned organizations, WALT could provide the means for the community to not only *be* but thrive in the city.

Additional partnerships with the city as well as the county would have to be fostered to grant WALT the ability to assist residents to remain within the City of Atlanta. The Fulton County/ City of Atlanta Land Bank Authority would have to be consulted and provided with the proof that WALT can fund the necessary improvements to the land they acquired to be granted abatement of the back taxes currently on a majority of the properties. WALT has attempted to partner with the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative (ALTC) to achieve this as well, utilizing the central server aspect of the ALTC, but was not able to due to the change in leadership and strategic plan of the ALTC. Also, the City of Atlanta and Fulton County would need to pass a policy allowing for a specialized tax code for CLT properties. Enabling CLTs to be taxed at a reduced rate allows for the model to remain sustainable and affordable as property taxes rise. The State of Georgia could also be petitioned to advise how local jurisdictions practice assessment of shared equity property in a way that makes the county willing to allow policy change. Without these in place, the vision of WALTs community-driven CLT will remain just a great idea.

4.3 Collective Governance

Lefebvre's theory of autogestion, the ability to self-govern, is a radical thought in comparison to the current societal power structure. The dismantling of a hierarchal system such as city government is not in our foreseeable future, but the ability for residents to have a say in what their community looks like and what developments they

want is a major shift from the status quo. CLT models that mirror the Boston and Athens models can still be controlled by the city through the direction, influence, and power the organization has. More is at stake with resident-led organizations such as WALT that the city may view as unpredictable, and the community's power to create negative or positive public discourse that can directly affect voting for candidates and legislation during election season.

4.3.1 Boston

As discussed in Chapter 3, members of DNI and DSNI have created their board system to allow for the all voices of the community to be heard in the decision-making process. T.D further explains the process:

So we make it intentional for the board to be made up of –we try to split it –um uh, to a third, a third, a third. So that accounts for –um a third of the board needs to be made up of local residents. A third of my land trust needs to be made up of actual leaseholders on the land trust and a third of it are made up of elected officials that –um, you know, -uh makes up the full board for the land trust. That's nine people that we have on our board. And then for DSNI, DSNI is made up of a 35 member board. And that board is –the structure of that board intentionally calls out for an even divide of all different mixes. So there is 4 seats for the White folks, 4 seats for African Americans, 4 seats for Latinos, 4 seats for Cape Verdeans which is a big demographic in our neighborhood –um uh, the other seats are divvied up amongst the local businesses, religious institutions, so that there is an even accountability of people. (T.D.)

By dividing the DSNI board up by race of residents, business, and institution, DSNI is attempting to allow all groups to have a voice in the governance of their programs. DNI, on the other hand, has a smaller board in which three seats are for residents of the CLT and three seats are for local residents allows for the community input to be the majority in the governance of the CLT specifically. The success of DNI

and its use of collective governance over the past 32 years are proof that residents can make effective decisions for their community.

4.3.2 Athens

ALT has a unique board, though it follows the same 1/3 representation model as DSNI. As D.A. explains, the board of ALT is entrenched in many sectors and institutions within Athens-Clarke County, which aids them in getting support and backing from local officials.

So our board, because we are a CHDO [Community Housing Development Organization], your board has to be diverse so a third of the board has to be a homeowner, and I believe a third has to be non-governmental people, um the rest can just be local people from Athens. So our board is diverse. We have an attorney, we have our former executive director who retired is now on our board which is great. We have people who used to be on the school board that are retired. We have a commercial real estate person. I believe we have an architect or engineer. We have a planner. So they work here in some capacity in Athens or they did work in Atlanta and they support our program so they give us guidance on the things we try to do and give us opportunity to explore new ventures that would help boost the work that we are doing. (D.A.)

By having a diverse board of influential people, ALT has positioned itself to be able to call upon individual within academia, policy, and other areas to assist them in their mission. It is unclear how many board members outside of leaseholders are working-class residents, which makes it hard to conclude how much collective governing is taking place. The hope is that residents are at the table for decision-making and that board members with political and social connections are able to call on their networks to help reach their goal.

4.3.3 Atlanta

The WALT program also intends to use the 1/3 representation model but currently is made up of 80% neighborhood and 20% academia. During my participant observation, many people ranging from agriculturists, lawyers, and politicians have been on or asked to serve on the board of the WALT organization but decided not to commit or did not serve a full term for personal or professional reasons. Representatives of WALT believe it is vital that the residents are always part of and the majority of the CLT board due to their knowledge of and experiences in the neighborhood.

I think this is important because nobody knows better than the people going through it. If you are going through it you understand it better. It doesn't mean that other people don't care, it doesn't mean that they don't have sympathy for a lack of a better term at the moment, or empathy, but at the end of the day if you live there I think you have a much better invested interest and it put a fire up under you that it wouldn't up under somebody that doesn't live there cuz they don't really benefit from it in the same manner. They can benefit from assisting and helping you but they the benefit is not quite the same. (G.W.)

Our board and our member serve directly and indirectly. Speaking for myself as a resident, I am one of the residents that is impacted by the work of the non-profit and of course, you know, who I reach out to are my neighbors. (P.H.)

By calling on community, the WALT program has been able to assist residents in need, provide access to job training, and provide summer job opportunities for the youth in the neighborhood. Within a neighborhood that has issues with resources, WALT, along with other, local non-profits frequently partner to address community issues and work to resolve them independently or with pressure on the local government in an attempt to bring equal access and opportunity to the community.

Just as some citizens believe the majority of power in government should be left to the individual states, the same applies to city-neighborhood relations. Many residents and CLT leadership believe that the municipalities are not serving their community justly across all CLT interviews. When asked, what justice means to them, all CLT representatives made reference to fairness and equality.

It means fairness. It means fairness regardless of race, background. It means everyone having the opportunity to put in work and accomplish something... I think justice for my community would be having those that are in positions of power to actually have the courage to make decisions that are the right decisions even though it may not benefit their own interests or partnerships or people that they are involved with because you know there are a lot of things going on here that are political... (D.A.)

When I think of justice I think of fairness. I think of equality. I think of everyone having the same opportunity, not because you have more money or you have more education... (G.W.)

The fairness and equality and being able to interact with the city (T.D.)

Respondent D.A. and G.W. spoke of social injustices due to race and socioeconomic status as ways their communities were being marginalized. Being a part of a collective governance of their community would mean they could be in some control over having fair access to resources and development as other affluent neighborhoods that are represented because of their social stature. By implying that there is a lack of trust in those in power to make the right decisions that essentially affect their neighborhood, the sense is that some things must be taken into the neighborhoods hands to create the change they want to see in their communities.

The WALT program shows signs of being a true collective governance with board members living in and around the target area. Unlike the other CLTs, WALT has only

members of the community and academia on their board, with community members outweighing any other entity. Members of WALT also serve in their NPU as committee chairs or on the executive board, creating a tight-knit network of residents with knowledge of planned development from the city and local knowledge of the needs of the community. This aligns with Lefebvre's radical view of moving beyond capitalism and state control and into autogestion.

Autogestion, Lefebvre stated, is the great awakening of regular people through the refusal to accept their conditions and take action to gain the power back from the state that was surrendered by the people to state officials (Lefebvre, Brenner, & Elden, 2009; Purcell, 2014). Though it may be argued that all CLTs exemplify autogestion, many are working with the 'state' to improve their communities by using the funding and resources given by the state. At this point in time, WALT fully embodies autogestion because of its lack of ties to the city. This may change as it has proven challenging to operate and reach their goal without financial backing, legislation, and abatement from the city.

4.4 Additional Themes

Additional themes that were found across all three CLTs include the importance of education, community organizing/community involvement, and the ideal housing landscape. Education was highlighted as a means to increase residents' knowledge of the CLT model, financial literacy, and job training/workforce development. All the CLTs have an education component outside of its marketing of the program. ALT has a community agriculture program that brings in residents to learn about and maintain the greenhouse and community gardens.

WALT partners with a program that teaches women construction and building skills that lead to certification as well as partners with the city and universities to teach technical skills to residents including data collection, soil sampling, and mold testing. Additionally, some members of the organization and community serve as neighborhood ambassadors, guiding work groups and tours through the neighborhood and showing the hidden assets within their community. DSNI partners with the City of Boston on workforce development projects.

Community organizing/community involvement was also a reoccurring theme.

Some people are in. They can make everyone else want in. But if you have the buy in from all of these different areas [city government, policy makers, residents, funders] then it makes it a lot easier. You're not fighting at something the whole time. (D. A)

We are involved. I mean, I think that we do extremely well! I think I would say that we get 100% participation being that we all might not participate at the same time but we participate nonetheless, so I would be tempted to say we get 100% participation from our members. (G. W)

All organizations agreed that an equal housing landscape would be their ideal model. They acknowledged that the market rate units would essentially take care of themselves but the affordable homes should be available everywhere to ensure that all people, regardless of income, can live where they want to live.

Compromise was an outlier that was only mentioned by the veteran CLT, DSNI. There were many things that the initial DSNI board and community wanted that were at odds with the vision of the City of Boston. In ways, the group had to compromise to allow the partnership to flourish and for their organization to be effective.

You guys may make a compromise and that's fine, but it's the group making the compromise. (M. B)

We have to work in partnership with the city to achieve the things that we have - that we want, and we really had to work with the city to achieve the things that we have on the land trust now. Um, so I mean they have to be -the city has to be at the table for these changes to be real. (T. D)

This may serve as an important guide for the developing WALT organization for the vitality and sustainability of its program. By partnering with a larger entity like the city, quasi-governmental agencies, or foundations like the Westside Future Fund, WALT may have to compromise on some of its plans, but it will bring much needed funding to the organization to complete the homes for the residents of the community who would essentially be displaced. For example, the ALTC has approached WALT to buy its properties to develop them, but WALT will only have one seat on the ALTC board. This plan does not guarantee that the homes are sold at the agreement in which they were given to the organization.¹ It also does not give WALT a powerful voice in a room of CEOs and directors of Atlanta's business and philanthropic organizations on what is deemed affordable for residents within the neighborhoods. WALT must decide what is more important as they decide what facets of the organizations mission with which they are willing to compromise.

Also discussed was the disruption of capital. In both DSNI and WALT there is a continuous discussion on how the CLT model needs to be authentic and for the betterment of people.

¹ Some homes were donated to specifically benefit a certain population. For instance, one property was donated in the agreement that it would be sold to benefit a single mother with young children.

...the more that you can stick to those roots and those models –um- I think the healthier, the more –you know- the continual authenticity. I know the grassroots radical methods, those are the only things that make change in here. Um- if our beautiful President [Barak Obama] hasn't shown us that, right, is that you actually have to get radical, you actually have to disrupt capitalism, that's what you have to do with this. (M. B)

I think we should be part of the framework, but I don't really see that happening because we are going back to the same thing. It's literally just a round circle. A land trust doesn't produce a lot- it produces a minimum amount of income when you start talking about county government. City and county government. And it's probably not very conducive to their plan. (G. W)

As community's rally around the ability for them to be and remain in their neighborhoods, it presents the ability for them to work collectively to define what is important to them. Housing affordability and the right to remain in the communities that they have been able to thrive in with little investment from state and private sources, is one of the rallying cries in many cities around the nation. Collective governance may not be truly realized as Lefebvre's work has defined it, but it continues to be a goal for many marginalized communities as they work for a voice within the decision-making around their neighborhoods.

5 CONCLUSION

The right to the city is...far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is...one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

– David Harvey, 2008

Non-profits are usually the organizations that can move, or subsidize, ineffective systems, stirring the proverbial pot when policies and implementations become stagnant (Newport, 2004). The CLT model is that charge to create equity in the wild west of the speculative real estate market. By creating a permanently affordable housing market, it ensures that a percentage of residents from every income have the right to city. This includes the right to *be* in the city, a voice in the governance of their community, and the opportunity to be involved in the development of their community, increasing community engagement.

Within this study, I have found that there are different models of the community land trust. On the one hand, all CLTs are investing in affordable housing, yet they express different commitments to collective governance, which is also a key element of 'right to the city'. In other words, the community can be the keystone in the success of the CLT model to realize the full right to the city of urban residents. DSNI's community involvement steered the development of the land within the community out of the city's hands and into their own. ALT continues its initiative to reach out to the community to

educate them on the CLT model so they could potentially benefit from it and not be forced further away from the city center. In a unique way, WALT presents full buy-in and support from the community and only requires the partnership with the city, county, and local funders to be able to essentially be the first CLT for the community and by the community.

Lefebvre's right to the city can be seen expressed in the CLT model and was found to be most evident in the ideals of the WALT program. Through their means of land acquisition and the ability to self-govern what is to be done with the properties shows a form of autogestion rarely seen in the real estate market outside of private family trusts. The ability of collective governance is proven to work within the CLT model and could be grounds for the reexamination of community engagement methods of cities. In its own way, WALT is the prime example of how relations between neighborhoods and municipalities should work: the community assesses and identifies the need and the organization finds the means to address and fix the problem through collaboration and partnerships.

The right to *be* in the city is still a struggle for the marginalized as noted in this study. Many residents feel as though they may be pushed out their neighborhoods and that there are injustices in the system that allow for them to be uprooted for financial gain and the ability to reproduce the city for new residents. This embodies the power struggle scholars identify as a space of repression, created and produced by those in power who essentially control the production and reproduction of space. Marginalized communities will continue to fight for their right to space through the CLT and other

means of resistance to ensure their voices are heard and that they too could have a right to the city.

By analyzing the process and development of DSNI and ALT, there are some key elements that WALT can utilize moving forward. WALT currently has a board of primarily residents, but it is essential that they diversify their board to include additional neighborhood stakeholders. By doing so, WALT may find ways to increase its ability to effectively create policy change and partnerships as the ALT and DSNI models have successfully done. Currently there is no policy in the City of Atlanta or Fulton County to tax CLT homes at a different rate. It will require the ability of WALT to engage and convince the political sector that there is a need for the CLT model. Additionally, WALT may have to relinquish control to a larger, established entity to possibly get the results they want. The Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative (ALTC) may not have a proven track record of success, but they also have the connections and resources need to successfully establish a CLT. With this there are no guarantees that the population WALT has set out to serve will be saved from displacement. Without financial support to redevelop the land in their holding and the inability to prove to the land bank authority that they have the means to, WALT is in a stalemate with few options. It is imperative that WALT determines what is more important to their organization: the establishment of the CLT model in the city of Atlanta or the ability to preserve housing for their neighbors in their community.

The role of place and place-making is also evident in this study in which the CLT model is used to preserve the spaces from which the marginalized are being slowly removed. Residents of the neighborhoods, their social networks and their deep sense of

history have been made in spaces that have been negatively labeled and disinvested in. The ability to control space within their communities is in a direct challenge to the outside power of development and the reproduction of space.

Some limitations in this study could lead to further research, as interviews were only with affiliates of the CLT and not with the communities in which the CLTs are embedded. Identifying what the community understands the CLT work to be could lead to an increase awareness and possible interest of current renters into the model. Also, this study is based in the Northeast and Southeast regions of the United States. Though there is an element of regional difference, there may be parallels drawn to other CLTs in other areas of the country that could be explored.

REFERENCE

- ALT. (2017). Athens Land Trust | About. Retrieved from <http://www.athenslandtrust.org/about/>
- Aubry, S., & Dorsi, D. (2016). Towards a human rights framework to advance the debate on the role of private actors in education. *Oxford Review of Education*, 42(5), 612–628.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2016.1224301>
- Bassett, E. M. (2005). Tinkering with tenure: the community land trust experiment in Voi, Kenya. *Habitat International*, 29(3), 375–398. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2003.12.001>
- Bauder, H. (2016). Possibilities of Urban Belonging. *Antipode*, 48(2), 252–271.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12174>
- Bureau, U. S. C. (2017a). American FactFinder - Community Facts. Retrieved March 2, 2017, from https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml#
- Bureau, U. S. C. (2017b). American FactFinder, ACS 2015 Estimates. Retrieved April 13, 2017, from <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF>
- Campbell, M. C., & Salus, D. A. (2003). Community and conservation land trusts as unlikely partners? The case of Troy Gardens, Madison, Wisconsin. *Land Use Policy*, 20(2), 169–180.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0264-8377\(03\)00002-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0264-8377(03)00002-4)
- City of Atlanta, GA : Neighborhood Planning Unit (NPU). (n.d.). Retrieved November 3, 2016, from <http://www.atlantaga.gov/index.aspx?page=739>
- Community Land Scotland. (2017). Retrieved April 13, 2017, from <http://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/>
- Conaty, P., & Lewis, M. (2014). Community land trusts aid households, communities, taxpayers. *CCPA Monitor*, 20(9), 36–38.
- Davis, J. (2014). *Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the US*. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Retrieved from

http://library.uniteddiversity.coop/Community_Land_Trusts/Origins_and_Evolution_of_the_Community_Land_Trust_in_the_US.pdf

Demographics | Athens-Clarke County, GA - Official Website. (n.d.). Retrieved March 2, 2017, from <https://www.athensclarkecounty.com/105/Demographics>

Desmond, M., & Kimbro, R. T. (2015). Eviction's Fallout: Housing, Hardship, and Health. *Social Forces*, 94(1), 295–324. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov044>

DeVerteuil, G. (2012). Resisting gentrification-induced displacement: Advantages and disadvantages to “staying put” among non-profit social services in London and Los Angeles. *Area*, 44(2), 208–216.

Devinatz, V. G. (2015). Right-to-Work Laws, the Southernization of U.S. Labor Relations and the U.S. Trade Union Movement's Decline. *Labor Studies Journal*, 40(4), 297. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X15622702>

Devine, K. H. (2016). Vermont Food Access and the “Right to Food”: Using the Human Right to Food to Address Hunger in Vermont. *Vermont Law Review*, 41(1), 177–207.

Dikec, M. (2001). Justice and the spatial imagination. *Environment and Planning A*, 33, 1785–1805. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1068/a3467>

Dudley Neighbors Incorporated Background. (2015). Retrieved March 1, 2017, from <http://www.dudleyneighbors.org/background.html>

Englesman, U., Rowe, M., & Southern, A. (2016). Community Land Trusts: A Radical or Reformist Response to The Housing Question Today? *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 15(3), 590–615.

Fujii, Y. (2016). Putting the pieces together: How collaboration between land banks and community land trusts can promote affordable housing in distressed neighborhoods. *Cities*, 56, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.02.007>

Galloway, J. (1987, November 1). Vine city girding to fight dome. *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*.

Retrieved from

<http://digitalcollections.library.gsu.edu/utls/getfile/collection/atlphotos/id/4945/filename/4958.pdfpage/page/2>

Get A Home at Champlain Housing Trust. (2017). Retrieved April 13, 2017, from

<http://www.getahome.org/>

Grier, G. W., Grier, E. S., & United States. (1978). Urban displacement: A reconnaissance. Grier Partnership.

Hankins, K., Puckett, M., Oakley, D., & Ruel, E. (2014). Forced mobility: the relocation of public-housing residents in Atlanta. *Environment and Planning A*, 46(12), 2932 – 2949.

<https://doi.org/10.1068/a45742>

Immergluck, D. (2015, October 12). Loss of Low Cost Rentals Atlanta. Retrieved March 3, 2017, from

<https://www.scribd.com/document/284775500/Loss-of-Low-Cost-Rentals-Atlanta-by-Dan-Immergluck-Oct-2015>

Keene, D. E., & Geronimus, A. T. (2011). “Weathering” HOPE VI: the importance of evaluating the population health impact of public housing demolition and displacement. *Journal Of Urban Health: Bulletin Of The New York Academy Of Medicine*, 88(3), 417–435.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-011-9582-5>

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. (E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Trans.). Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The urban revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H., Brenner, N., & Elden, S. (2009). *State, space, world: Selected essays*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

LeGates, R. T., & Hartman, C. (1982). Gentrification-Caused Displacement. *Urban Lawyer*, 14, 31.

- Libman, K., Fields, D., & Saegert, S. (2012). Housing and Health: A Social Ecological Perspective on the US Foreclosure Crisis. *Housing, Theory & Society*, 29(1), 1–24.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2012.624881>
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2016). A gendered view of mobility and transport: next steps and future directions. *TPR: Town Planning Review*, 87(5), 547–565. <https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2016.38>
- Madison Area Community Land Trust. (2017). Retrieved from <http://affordablehome.org/>
- Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement: Connections, Causes, and Policy Responses in New York City. *Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28, 195.
- Marcuse, P. (2009). From critical urban theory to the right to the city, 13((2-3)), 185–197.
- Marx, K. (1994). On the Jewish question. In *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (pp. 1–26). Indianapolis: Hackett.
- McNulty, T. L., & Holloway, S. R. (2000). Race, Crime, and Public Housing in Atlanta: Testing a Conditional Effect Hypothesis. *Social Forces*, 79(2), 707–729. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2675514>
- Medoff, P., & Sklar, H. (1994). *Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood*. South End Press.
- Meet The Leaseholders. (2016). Retrieved March 10, 2017, from <http://www.dudleyneighbors.org/meet-the-leaseholders.html>
- Midheme, E., & Moulaert, F. (2013). Pushing back the frontiers of property: Community land trusts and low-income housing in urban Kenya. *Land Use Policy*, 35, 73–84.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2013.05.005>
- Miller, S. R. (2015). Community Land Trusts: Why Now Is the Time to Integrate This Housing Activists' Tool into Local Government Affordable Housing Policies. *Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law*, 23(3/4), 349–371.

- Moore, T., & McKee, K. (2012). Empowering Local Communities? An International Review of Community Land Trusts. *Housing Studies*, 27(2), 280–290. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2012.647306>
- Newman, K., & Wyly, E. K. (2006). The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York city. *Urban Studies (Routledge)*, 43(1), 23–57.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500388710>
- Newport, G. (2004). When Half the Neighborhood Is Missing. *New England Journal of Public Policy*, 20(1), 177–183.
- Oakley, D., Ruel, E., & Reid, L. (2013). Atlanta’s Last Demolitions and Relocations: The Relationship Between Neighborhood Characteristics and Resident Satisfaction. *Housing Studies*, 28(2), 205–234. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2013.767887>
- Paget-Seekins, L. (2013). Competing mobility needs: The users, actors, and discourses in Atlanta, Georgia. *Transport Policy*, 27, 142–149. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2013.01.001>
- Pickren, G. (2012). “Where Can I Build My Student Housing?” The Politics of Studentification in Athens-Clarke County, Georgia. *Southeastern Geographer*, 52(2), 113.
- Powell, M. (1985, February 10). Mother’s dream of home ownership comes true with land trust funding. *Burlington Free Press*.
- Program Directory. (2017). Retrieved April 13, 2017, from <http://cltnetwork.org/directory/>
- Pugalis, L., & Giddings, B. (2011). A Renewed Right to Urban Life: A Twenty-First Century Engagement with Lefebvre’s Initial “Cry.” *Architectural Theory Review*, 16(3), 278–295.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2011.623785>
- Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, 58(2–3), 99–108.
- Purcell, M. (2014). Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 36(1), 141–154. <https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12034>

- Redfern, P. A. (2003). What Makes Gentrification “Gentrification”? *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2351–2366.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136101>
- Satsangi, M. (2009). Community Land Ownership, Housing and Sustainable Rural Communities. *Planning Practice & Research*, 24(2), 251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02697450902827402>
- Schensul, S., Schensul, J., & LeCompte, M. (1999). *Essential Ethnographic Methods* (Vol. 2). London: SAGE Publications.
- Skobba, K., & Carswell, A. T. (2014). Community Land Trust Homeowners: Past and Present Housing Experiences. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, 43(1), 4–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/fcsr.12077>
- Soifer, S. D. (1990). THE BURLINGTON COMMUNITY LAND TRUST: A Socialist Approach to Affordable Housing? *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 12(3), 237–252. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.1990.tb00216.x>
- Soja, E. W. (1980). The socio-spatial dialectic. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70(2), 207–225.
- Strait, J. B., & Gong, G. (2015). The Impact of Increased diversity on the Residential Landscape of a Sunbelt Metropolis: Racial and Ethnic Segregation Across the Atlanta Metropolitan Region, 1990–2010. *Southeastern Geographer*, (2), 119.
- vonHoffman, A. (1998). Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood. *Journal of American History*, 85(2), 761–763.
- WALT. (2016). Retrieved November 4, 2016, from <http://www.helporginc.org/walt-2015.html>
- Wilhelm, D. (1987, September 6). Vermont programs seek to provide affordable housing. *Boston Globe*.